

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

MARIUS R. ROBINSON, EDITOR.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

ANN PEARSON, PUBLISHING AGENT.

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WHOLE NO. 492.

ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

From the Anti-Slavery Standard.

LETTER FROM A. T. FOSS.

LEXINGTON, Lagrange Co., Ind.,
February 8th, 1855.

EDITORS OF THE STANDARD: Since I wrote you, I have, in company of the Griffings, lectured in the following counties: Wayne, Washtenau, Oakland, Genesee, Chautauque and Lenoire in Michigan, and have now made a commencement in Lagrange Co., in Indiana.

I will not trouble you with any detailed accounts of these meetings, but will only ask attention to the general condition of the anti-slavery cause in these places. And first, I regret to say there is far less apparent interest and excitement now than when I first came into the West. Then the fall elections were at the door, and the Fusionists were prominent with anti-slavery life. They attended our meetings, exerted themselves to get the people out, cheered our most ultra doctrines, solicited us to meet an answer to the Nebraska resolutions, which we were forward to do; they shouted our triumphs over these men, not pausing to consider that the defeat of their enemies from our standpoint was equally the overthrow of the doctrines which they taught and upon which they acted. Immediately subsequent to the elections, the excitement remained unabated. The slightest allusion to the discomfiture of the old fogies was cheered with open throat. But, "a change has come over the spirit of their dream." Like the allied army before Sevastopol, they have gone into winter quarters and their batteries are silent. Thus it has ever been with political anti-slavery: it votes, and then, assured of having done its duty, it sinks to repose. Just before the election, when we attacked the Indiana Black Laws, we were assured by the political anti-slavery men, "If we succeed, will this winter, be repealed." The same confident tone was kept up after the election. When we expressed unbelief in such a result, we were rebuked, and charged with an uncharitable spirit. Well, the Fusionists have a large majority in the popular branch of the Indiana Legislature, and the session is drawing near its close, and yet no effective effort has been made for the repeal of these odious laws, which would be a disgrace to the most savage people on the earth. Indeed, I am quite sure that no movement has been made in that direction at all. I predict that none will be made. One of the citizens of Indiana has been fined and imprisoned for doing the Christian act of feeding the hungry, and giving God speed to the weary traveler, and yet this anti-slavery Legislature are taking no measures to secure the citizens against their persecutors. Alas! when will the people learn that, leaning upon these political parties, they lean upon a broken staff, which will pierce through their hand.

There is much of anti-slavery feeling among the people of the West, but it is wasted in political action. The picture, however, is not all dark; it has a "sunny" as well as a "shady" side. A portion of the people listen to our arguments and our denunciations, and are confessing their loss of confidence in all parties and sects whose policy is to compromise truth with error, and the rights of the slave with the despotism of his master. Indeed, I am quite sure that our labors are now even more effective for good than during the feverish excitements immediately connected with the elections.

Our short visit to Chiwaukee Co., in Michigan, was very satisfactory. The country is new, and the population as yet, though rapidly increasing, is sparse. They are freer from the trammels of parties and sects than any people I have ever seen, and are ready to hear and embrace the truth. It would be an excellent outlet if an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society could spend two or three months in that country. There are few ministers there yet to poison the people with a pro-slavery religion. One sensible man remarked that the rats, the crows, and the ministers never made their appearance in a new country till the hardy pioneer had provided something for them to eat.

Many of the churches here are much freer from sectarianism, and more imbued with the love of humanity, than in the East. I will give a single instance as illustrative of this fact. Recently, in a town where I was lecturing, I spent nearly the whole of one lecture in examining the relations of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the Slave Power. At the close, I was rebuked, by a prominent member of the Baptist church, because I had passed over their delinquencies so lightly. I, of course, accepted the rebuke, and promised him that, in a future lecture, I would endeavor to do the Baptists exact justice. With this he was well satisfied. The largest number, however, of the churches here, as in the East, are wedded to their idols.

From every experience which I have had in the West, I cannot doubt that the motto of the American Anti-Slavery Society, "No Union with Slaveholders," is commending itself to the judgments and consciences of this Western people, and is being by them accepted, as at once the dictate of truth, and consequently of wise and sound policy. For God and Humanity.

A. T. FOSS.

PARAMOUNT, Ind.—What ought this to be with anti-slavery men? What is the great evil in this country, endangering our Principles, our Union, our Moral Religion? Is it not Slavery? Have not anti-slavery men proclaimed it to be so for many years? Is it any less so now? If not, why not still make opposition to it our leading, dominant political idea? Why not concentrate upon it our thoughts, and against it our acts, until we obtain a victory over it? Why let minor questions distract our councils, and weaken our efforts in this work? Why let minor questions creep in to paralyze our efforts, divide our friends, and postpone, if not endanger, our final triumph?

Why unite with any organization or remain in one whose views on this subject are even doubtful—nay, which does not make opposition to slavery its first and controlling idea, and every other political question secondary to this? Unless our friends do not have little hope of success. If that does not do this, cannot an efficient laborer in the cause of Freedom—Columbian.

OPINIONS OF JUSTICE A. D. SMITH.

OF THE SUPREME COURT OF WISCONSIN DELIVERED
FEBRUARY 24, 1855.

In the matter of the petition of John Reycraft for a writ of Habeas Corpus, and to be discharged from imprisonment, and in the matter of the like petition of Sherman M. Booth.

The fact in the two cases is essentially the same, and so far as the observations, which I feel called upon to make, may be uttered, they will be regarded as applying to both, and therefore, for the sake of convenience, reference will be made to the petition of Reycraft only.

On the application of Sherman M. Booth, at the last term of the Court for a writ of Habeas Corpus, no copy of the indictment was presented, but only a copy of the warrant, upon which he had been arrested, which recited merely that he had been indicted under the act of Congress of 1850, for aiding in the escape of one Joshua Glover. This was an ordinary Bench Warrant, to bring in a defendant to answer to an indictment found in the U. S. District Court, and it appeared to us that we ought not, (and indeed without an indictment could not,) interfere with the regular action of the Court, but were bound to presume, that if the indictment, when at the proper time it should be brought up for examination, failed to present a case of which that court had jurisdiction, or charged no offence at all, and that all such jurisdiction was primarily within the proper scope of the power of that Court. But now the case is different, all these questions have been properly urged, and without avail, and the petitioner comes before us and shows, by the return of the officer, that he has been pressed on to a conviction, and sentenced to imprisonment, and is now actually imprisoned within this State and that the sole authority therefor, is a transcript of the record of such conviction.

The first, the fundamental question which the case presents, is, Has this Court the power to enquire into the legality of this authority by which the prisoner is held?

It seems to me that the solution of this question is to be found in a few simple elementary propositions, which require little or no proof or argument to sustain them.

It is the duty of the Government to protect and enforce the rights of its citizens, among which is the right to liberty.

This duty of the Government is to be measured only by the extent of the individual right, and it is bound to provide means adequate to the end in view.

The Government has a complex, the means, may be distributed, and the obligation of duty divided, but not so as to fall short of the object to be accomplished.

Ours is a complex system, with distributed powers, to each of its parts constituting an entire sovereignty, and so, of course, in duty bound, as a whole to furnish complete protection.

Whatever powers and duties are not delegated or assigned to one department or branch of the entire sovereignty, must remain in the other.

If the one be made up of delegated, and the other of reserved powers, the duties assigned to the former, can only be co-extensive with the powers delegated, and the duties of the latter, must be commensurate with the powers reserved, and these powers adequate to every emergency not within the scope of the former.

The Federal Government is one of delegated powers, the State Government one of reserved powers; the former competent to act only within its prescribed boundary; the latter exercising all the functions of sovereignty which have not been delegated to the former.

The power to guard and protect the individual liberty of the citizen, is one of the powers reserved to the States. It was never granted to the Federal Government, (except in very few prescribed cases which have no bearing upon the present inquiry,) has never been claimed for it, but always conceded to the States.

If therefore it is the duty of the State to guard the individual liberty of its citizens, must necessarily have the right and the power to inquire into an authority by which that liberty is attempted to be taken away. But the power to inquire includes the power to decide. The right to decide, then, implies the obligation of the power to inquire to respond. The right to demand such authority on the one hand, implies on the other the duty to exhibit it.

Again, the States have delegated to the Federal Government the power to imprison their citizens in certain cases, but in none other. So far then that government acts upon the powers thus delegated, the States cannot interfere to protect their citizens; but in every other case they not only have the power, but it is their solemn duty to interpose their authority. As the power by which the Federal Government can imprison is a delegated power, it is bound to show in every case, that it is acting upon some power delegated. It must be "nominated in the bond."

The constitution of the U. S. is the deed of the States, expressed by written charter, of all the powers delegated to the Federal Government. The States severally retain all else of sovereignty limited only by the local constitutions prescribed by the people of each.

Therefore, to me it is plain, that when the Federal Government acts in a given case, it is bound to exhibit a case within its prescribed powers, for were it otherwise, it would involve the assumption of inherent powers, and transcend its charter.

As the States delegated, and the Federal Government took power, the States may be required to exhibit the deed, by which it claims to do, or refuses to perform any given act, when so required by the primary original authority.

In the constitution of the United States sound policy required the incorporation of a function by which the government thus created might be such in fact and hence be enabled to act upon individuals in all the creative constituent sovereignties. This could only be accomplished by the creation of a judicial department, supreme and independent within its prescribed sphere whose process should extend to every citizen. But in giving up this element of sovereignty, the States carefully guarded it, lodged it about with provisions, which, it was supposed were impregnable. They prescribed its extent in the words most carefully selected, whose import could scarcely be mistaken, and beyond which it was supposed no venture could be made. "The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this constitution, the laws and treaties made, or which shall be made under their authority."

The words, "extend to," might, perhaps, upon the theory of liberal construction, be held to be exclusive in their import, were it not for another provision of that instrument which will be presently noticed. But the very selection of the words "extend to," when we consider the extreme caution observed by the members of the convention which framed the constitution, ought to admonish us against a rash assumption of exclusive jurisdiction. That which merely extends to a particular class of subjects cannot upon any legitimate mode of interpretation be considered as comprising the whole of such class to the exclusion of every other power. Several powers may extend to a given class of subjects, but one can comprehend them all. The extension of a power to a subject by no means merged it exclusively within such power.

But we are relieved from the necessity of criticism upon these words, by another provision of the same instrument in the following words:

"The constitution, and the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the U. S. shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges of every State shall be bound there by."

Here is a distinct recognition of the power and duty of state judges to decide upon, and to conform to, all the requirements of the federal constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof. If the term "extend to," in a former provision were intended to be exclusive, and to vest sole and ultimate power in the federal courts and judges, why should the obligation of construction and obedience and conformity be imposed upon state judges? Why are the constitution and the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof, made the law of every state and the state judges bound thereby, unless those subjects were addressed to the judicial mind and conscience of those officers? And why that careful phrase when addressed to state judges, "the laws of the United States, made in pursuance thereof," which is not found in the constitution, but only in the laws of the United States, as are the Federal courts and judges. I cannot yield to the assumption, that the former will be less faithful of their oaths and obligations than the latter; though I can really perceive why the State judges may be naturally more mindful of the laws of the United States, made in pursuance thereof, because they are under an additional obligation to support the constitution and rights of the States.

If these views be correct, how stands the present case? It is clearly our duty to grant this writ, to enquire into the cause of the prisoner's capture and detention. The return of the respondent is not such a case, that our duty is to enquire into this return in order to ascertain whether the prisoner is held by virtue of any legal authority. It will be conceded that the only legal authority by which he can be imprisoned, must be exercised either by the Government of this State, or by that of the United States. No other power can rightfully interfere with his right of liberty. But it is conceded that he is not held by the authority of this State. The next step in the inquiry is to ascertain whether he is held by any constitutional authority of the Federal Government. Whatever such authority may be, to be of any validity whatever, must clearly appear to be within the powers delegated by the constitution and laws of the United States, made in pursuance thereof. Any other power attempted to be exercised by any department of the Federal Government, would be a usurpation, and of no binding validity. The National Convention that framed the Constitution, and the Federal Government, cannot confer criminal jurisdiction upon the National government; so much so that an enumeration of the crimes for which punishment could be provided, was carefully made. Congress has, however, provided for the definition and punishment of some crimes, and officers as necessarily are to be appointed to execute the laws, and to see to the due execution of powers expressly granted. But all agree that the Federal Courts can exercise no criminal jurisdiction, except in cases specifically prescribed by an act of Congress.

Every act of Congress must be conformable to the Constitution; that is, either the exercise of some power expressly granted, or necessary to the execution of some express power.

I have on another occasion attempted to show the act of Congress, approved Sept. 18th, 1850, commonly called the Fugitive Slave Act, was not within the constitutional power of Congress. I have no time now to enlarge upon the view then presented. But I may be permitted to say, that after careful research, and much reflection, I have become more and more convinced, that the act is dangerous to the sovereignty and independence of the States, destructive of the peace and harmony of the Union, and an utterly subversive of the very principles upon which the Union was formed. I cannot long my silence upon the suggestions and opinions dictated by the conscience of others. They must judge and act for themselves. So must I. I must be faithful to my own conscience, and to the rights of the States. But to believe as I do, that Congress had no power to pass the act of 1850, that the duties and obligations declared by the constitution in that respect, by Sec. 2 of Art. I, of the Constitution, were imposed upon the States, and all power in relation thereto, reserved to the States, is a position, which I am compelled to hold that the act is unconstitutional and void, and consequently non-binding upon the Federal Courts.

This doctrine goes to the jurisdiction of the Court, which attempted to try and sentence, which jurisdiction is always subject to inquiry and decision in any other court in which its proceedings are brought in question, collectively or otherwise. This is true of courts of general original jurisdiction, and much more so in regard to courts of inferior, special and limited jurisdiction.

The 2nd Clause of the 9th Section of the 1st Article of the Constitution of the United States declares: "The privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it."

The insertion of this clause in the constitution clearly indicates the extreme caution which was exercised by the members of the National Convention, and also the appreciation which they felt, for the fact that the States were to be guarded for that of the Federal Government. While on the one hand, they obviously intended to leave to the State governments the jurisdiction and control of this high prerogative writ, in all ordinary circumstances, and on all ordinary occasions, on the other, they granted to Congress the power to suspend its privileges whenever there should be a manifest and open rebellion against the Federal authority, or an invasion of the National or State Territory. The suspension of the privileges of the writ referred to, could not be held as applying only to the power of the United States, but it was held, because such power could be held to extend to but few cases, and more palpably, because it could hardly be conceived that the national judiciary would ever be found disposed to use the writ in all of the subversion of the very authority upon which the existence of their own functions depended. Hence it is apparent that the exhibition, and the exceptions therefrom, have reference to the State functionaries, and the clause must be construed as restrictive upon the power of Congress to interfere with the authority of the State judges in cases, here and there, and there, the clause of express reservation to the States of a power which may be regarded in two aspects, the one as a jurisdiction over the writ of Habeas Corpus, in all cases whatsoever, except in cases of rebellion or invasion, when the public safety might require its suspension; and the other as an absolute grant of power to the Congress to suspend its privileges. But these cases must be declared by Congress before any suspension can be ordered. All this goes to show that the framers of the constitution did not only recognize in the States the general jurisdiction of the writ, but by the provision inserted, and only required obedience to it, on all occasions and by all persons and functionaries, whether State or Federal, unless Congress should declare the existence of the emergency, wherein it might and should suspend its privileges.

In view of this remarkable provision of the Constitution, it is not a little surprising that a claim is lately set up in behalf of federal officers, even of the lowest grade, of entire immunity from any delegation of the writ when emanating from state authority, and that jurisdiction of the writ is partly questioned by inferior ministerial officers, even when issued from the higher judicial tribunal of a sovereign state. However regardless a people may be of encroachments upon the power to which alone they have confided their liberties, it would seem that such pretensions, from such sources, could hardly fail to invite inquiry in regard, not to the right of sovereignty originally reserved, but in regard to what yet remains, not yet frittered away by thoughtless acquiescence on the one hand, or voluntarily surrender on the other.

But it seems to me unnecessary to pursue this subject further. The writ is a tenor and scope of the federal constitution indicates most clearly that the State judges, and indeed all State officers were essential to its maintenance and support, and accordingly the very last clause in the instrument requires such officers to be bound by oaths or affirmation to support it. Yet the course of reasoning sometimes resorted to in order tooust the jurisdiction of a constitutional question is based upon the assumption that State judges must necessarily be reckless of such obligation, and that fidelity to official duty is only to be expected from federal officers. But this assumption goes too far. It is a weapon with a double edge. The same hypothesis presupposed that federal judges are utterly unmindful of the restrictions which the constitution imposes upon federal power, and that they are willing for the sake of uniformity to admit all power both State and national. Neither assumption is true. The earnest desire of all is to ascertain the true line of duty and to act accordingly. That errors upon both sides may necessarily be committed, is only admitting that the agencies by which each government is administered are human. But those who suppose that error upon the one side or the other must necessarily lead to insurrection, revolution and anarchy have studied the temper of our people and officers to little purpose.

Time, reason, reflection, discussion, forbearance, patriotism will now, as they have done heretofore, prove that the wisdom and intelligence of the parties interested, and especially of the ultimate authority, will be found competent to the consequences which call for their exercise, and equal to the fortune which may put them to the test.

I agree fully with the course of reasoning of my brother Crawford upon the second branch of this case, viz: that the record of conviction here returned does not show an offence within the jurisdiction of the federal court, even admitting the act of 1850 to be constitutional; and even on that ground alone I should agree to discharge the prisoner. I am permitted, and desired to adopt his reasoning in that respect, which is so clear and conclusive that further suggestions would be entirely superfluous. I will only say that whatever the Congress may have designed by the act of 1850, such design can only be ascertained from the words of the statute. If they failed to designate the offences as they intended to do, their defect cannot be supplied by any legislation of a judicial tribunal. By their own language must the enactment be construed, and if their intentions may be ascertained in consequence of a failure accurately to express them, Congress has the same power to amend that it had originally to enact the statute.

I have deemed it my duty on this occasion to express my views on a question which I deem vital to the system on which our government is based. The constitution of my action is broader and deeper than the mere purport of the indictment, though that alone would be sufficient for the present emergency. But the occasion suggests, indeed upon the argument have been raised, questions involving the powers of the Federal and State governments, questions not confined to the jurisdiction of the federal court, but of questions pervading the entire scope of the two governments in all their departments, upon other subjects which may from time to time arise. And finally believing that the beneficent designs of the Union can only be realized and the union itself preserved, by maintaining the independent sovereignty of the States intact, in all respects except where they have clearly delegated power, and by confining the Federal Government to the powers clearly conferred, I have felt called upon to place my views upon record, in order that I may discharge my full duty, and that my reasons for the decision to which I have been impelled may be fully known and not misapprehended.

The following is a copy of the opinion of James R. Smith, Esq., in the case of John Reycraft and Sherman M. Booth.

We can't suit them Southern fellows, They're a double grapple sin, We must allers hold the bellers, When they want their iron hats; May be it's all right as preaching, But any naves it kind of grates, When I see the over-reachin' O' them nigger-d'evil States.

You may talk of Freedom's stars, Tell they're purple in the face— It's a grand great conceit, For the bluish-tint of our race; They just want this Nebraska S't to lug new Slave States in, To usen ye, and to sear ye, An' to plunder ye like sin.

Aint it cute to see a Yankee, Take sich everlastin' pains, All to get the Devil's Yankee, Helpin' on 'em woid their chains? Why, it's 'st as clear as figgers, Clear ez one and one make two, Chaps that make black slaves outagers Want to make white slaves o' you.

Wall, go 'long to help 'em stealin', Bigger lands to cram with slaves; Help the men that s'lders deatin' Insults on your father's graves; Help the strong to grab the feeble, Help the man again the few; Help the men that call your people, White-washed slaves and pedlin' crew.

If I had my way I'd rather We should go to work and part— They take one way, we take t'other— Guess it wouldn't break my heart! Man had ought to put assunder, Them that God has no ways joined; An' I shouldn't greatly wonder, If there's thousands o' my mind.

FRUITS OF WAR.—Although the Russian commerce with foreign countries is by no means extensive, and exposure to the cruelties of the allied fleets during the present war has been particularly avoided, yet the British have captured no less than thirty-eight times for this purpose without effect.

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MISS NEWHALL'S NICE SENSE OF COLOR.

From the Ohio Columbian.

CINCINNATI, Feb. 17, '55.

Your correspondent S. allotted last week to the attempt of Miss Newhall, of the seventh district, to exclude from the school a pupil, in whom there was supposed to be one sixteenth portion of colored blood. No one without close observation could discover that the boy was not entirely white. He had been attending the school for several years, and none of the teachers in the lower departments made any objections to him. But upon his being transferred to Miss Newhall's room, she, being a South Carolinian, immediately exhibited symptoms of Coleridge, and sent the boy home. The local trustees, Messrs. Goodman and Ogden, investigated the case and instructed her to receive the pupil. This she still refused to do, until she was likely to lose her place in the school for contempt of their authority, when she consented to receive him under protest, and appeal to the whole School Board, consisting of 34 members.

At their meeting on last Monday, they had an exciting discussion on the question. The opinion of Judge Walker, that the boy had a legal right to the privileges of the school, also the decisions of the Supreme Court to that effect, were read. J. L. Miner, Esq., a prominent lawyer of this city, was employed by the parents of the boy to defend his rights before the Board. The Board denied this privilege, always allowed to those whose rights are in question, and by a vote of 13 to 10, decided to remove the boy from the school. This lacked three of being a majority of the whole Board, though a majority of those present. Messrs. Goodman and Ogden, the local trustees who had decided in favor of the boy, thereupon resigned their places in the Board, declaring that they would not serve in a Board that would thus deny a pupil his legal rights. The case will be appealed to the Supreme Court, and the action of the School Board decidedly reversed. I find in the January number of the Journal of Education, a decision of this question by the State School Commissioner, Hon. H. H. Barney, which your readers will be interested in perusing.

In answer to the question, "Are children of less than half African blood entitled, as a matter of legal right, to the privilege of attending the common schools of the State?" Mr. Barney says, "To answer the above question, it is necessary to understand the judicial construction of the term 'white,' as used in the Constitution of this State.

In the case of *Gray v. State of Ohio*, found in Vol. 1, Ohio Reports, page 354, it is held that persons nearer white than a mulatto, or half blood, were entitled to the privileges of whites.

Williams v. School Directors, et al. Wright's Reports, page 578. In this case the question was whether the children of a white mother and a father three quarters white, are white children within the meaning of the school law. Affirmative opinion given.

Thacker v. Hark, et al. Vol. XI, Ohio Reports, page 376. In this case it was held that a person nearer white than a mulatto, is a white person within the meaning of the Constitution.

Law v. Baker, et al. Vol. 12, Ohio Reports, page 237. Held that the young of Negro, Indian, and White blood, but of more than half white blood, are entitled to the benefit of the school fund.

According to the decisions in the cases cited, an affirmative must be given to the question proposed.

A GENTLEMAN'S BODY SERVANT.

In a recent number of the New Orleans Delta we find the following advertisement:

DINING-ROOM SERVANT FOR SALE.—A mulatto, late 23 or 24 years old, of an excellent Dining-room and general House servant, gentleman's body servant, &c., shaves well, fine appearance, accustomed, and sold only from necessity. Will be fully guaranteed. Terms, cash. Apply to H. T. GREENWOOD, 47 Carondelet street.

Our meditation on this advertisement have suggested to us a somewhat diversified train of reflection. In the first place, we are struck by the statement that this accomplished dining-room and general house servant "shaves well." From this we not unnaturally infer that he has been permitted to approach, razor in hand, the chin and throat of Mr. H. T. Greenwood, of 47 Carondelet street, probably more than once, nay, possibly quite a number of times; otherwise, Mr. Greenwood would not be able to assert so confidently that he does shave well.

The question arises—how is it that Mr. G.'s throat remains in a sound condition (as we infer it does from the fact of his advertising, and from his necessity for each) when everybody knows or ought to know, that the Southern slaves are so barbarous and ferocious, that, if they had the opportunity, they would be sure to cut their master's throat?

Next, we should like to know by what rule of justice, by what principle of morality, by what precept of religion, this accomplished dining-room and general house servant, and gentleman's body servant, who is of fine appearance, and is a good barber, is kept in a condition where he merely serves the purpose of Mr. Greenwood, to the extent of relieving that gentleman's necessities when in want of "cash." Is not such an accomplished servant such a good barber, able to take care of himself? Could he not, in any city of the civilized world, if permitted, and not hampered or impeded by this Mr. Greenwood, earn a living for himself? If so, why is he not permitted? What right has Mr. Greenwood to make use of the services of such a man, so long as such a pleasure or convenience, as that which is procured by "cassidy," a cooler order him for sale, as he would a horse or a ox, to supply himself with "cash." We should like to have Dr. Adams or Dr. Lord, or any of the Northern apologists for slavery answer these questions, if they can, and justify the relation of Mr. Greenwood to his "servant," consistently with the principles of Christianity, or even with those of the lowest forms of natural justice and morality. For our part, we do not possibly see how they are to be reconciled. We are, however, open to conviction, and will heartily rejoice to be enlightened.—Boston Telegraph.

ABDUCTING A SLAVE.—Samuel Charles Chappel, who had been previously employed in Savannah, Ga., in procuring subscribers for a New York paper (name not mentioned), was committed to prison in that city, on the 5th ult., in default of \$1,500 bail, upon the charge of stealing and carrying out of the State a slave girl, owned according to Southern law by Mr. James Sandiford. The girl was put in male attire, and, thus disguised, went off upon the railroad, in company with Chappel. They reached Montgomery, Ala., where they were arrested and detained to await the arrival of officers from Savannah. Chappel, it seems, confessed that he took the girl, but said he intended, after availing himself of her labor for a time, to return her to her master. If his object had been to take the girl to the North, and thereby secure her freedom, he would be entitled to our sympathy; but there is no evidence that such was his purpose, the penalty for his offence is imprisonment for not less than four nor more than ten years.—A. B. Standard.

CALIFORNIA.—The legislature of California has adjourned, without electing a U. S. Senator. They tallied thirty-eight times for this purpose without effect.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

ARREST OF SLAVE-CATCHERS.

HARRISBURG, Saturday, Feb. 24—G. M.
Our borough has been thrown into a state of excitement for the past twenty-four hours, in consequence of a daring attempt of an infamous slave-catcher, and two unprincipled colored men, to kidnap a colored free boy, at a late hour on Friday night. The names of the accused are "S. S. Snyder, (a well known trafficker in human blood, and the "total gibber" of the Southern slave-drivers for this vicinity); James Thompson, colored, formerly of Hollidaysburg in this State.
The boy upon whom this bold attempt to rob him of his freedom was made, is named George Clark, aged about eighteen years, and was born and raised in Carlisle, Pa.
Clark had been lured from a dance-house kept by a colored man above Harrisburg, under the pretext of being sent on an errand for brandy for the occasion. Thompson and Jackson accompanied him, and took him to Snyder's residence, in the lower section of our borough, and invited him up stairs to get some grog. Immediately after entering Snyder's room, the latter seized the boy, and said: "Clark, I am going to send you, or take you back to your master." A struggle ensued; the boy made for a window fronting on the depot of the Pennsylvania Railroad, broke the sash through severely cutting his arm—and raised the cry of "Murder." A number of citizens and colored folks made for the spot, and found Clark hanging out of the window some forty feet from the ground, head downward, and Snyder and his wife holding on to the other end, in great earnest. A party rushed up stairs, and learned from the boy that he was a free negro; that an attempt had been made to knock him down and gag him, and that his only refuge was a precipitous exit from the window.

Snyder, who stood like a felon detected in his wicked act, and had nothing to say for himself, was immediately taken before a magistrate, and thence to prison. Jackson has been captured since but Thompson made his escape.
At 10 o'clock Snyder had a hearing before E. Resler, and was committed in default of \$1,000 bail, at least the security was not forthcoming at the time of this writing, nor is there any likelihood of any individual involving himself in so dangerous a case—a *prima facie* act of kidnapping. Snyder is an inveterate slave-hunter, and has barely escaped the penalty of the law on two or three occasions, while one of his accomplices was driven from this community, with the mark of Cain upon his brow, and remained abroad for a period of two years. Latterly, since settling the affair, he has been permitted to come into this community, but is now an object for the finger of scorn to point at. "S. S." has a wife and child, and there is no probability of the serious charge brought against him will be of no avail. "Justice is slow but certain," was never so truthfully verified as in this instance. During the examination of Snyder, the magistrate's office and vicinity of the prison were filled with spectators, and the joy of the colored population knew no bounds on beholding the great and terrible enemy in the hands of the officers of the law.
Jackson is to have a hearing on Monday. The officers are in search of Thompson, but up to this hour he has eluded their vigilance.
Numerous witnesses have been placed under bonds to appear at the next term of Court, when the matter will be tried; and there is no probability of doubt that the kidnappers will be dealt with to the fullest extent of the law. Numerous instances of a similar nature, it is alleged, have occurred in our community, and so adversely were they managed that no one was conversant with the fact until too late for "practical purposes."
Theories of the colored victim, Clark, were heart-rending, and soon brought a large crowd to Snyder's residence; and the point from the weatherboarding of the building is scathed off in long, broad marks showing how dexterously the boy's heels were employed in his endeavors to free himself.

STATE RIGHTS AND SLAVERY.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17, 1855.—Dear Sir,—Referring you to my editorials for the last two weeks, I have to ask you how far I have correctly represented your views in my comments upon your letter of the 20th of January, and the articles in the Boston Bee, which I have copied. Is a Senator or not a citizen of the State rights, so far as to permit the several States to regulate the question of slavery in their own mode within their State limits? Do you or not entertain the opinion that Congress has power to interfere with slavery in the States? Do you or not recognize that "higher law" doctrine which permits you as a Senator to disregard the binding obligations of the Constitution? Does the "American organization" in Massachusetts embrace the question of slavery amongst those for the regulation of which that organization was formed?
Your answer to my earliest convenience will oblige your obedient servant,
VERFASIAN ELLIS,
Editor American Organ.

HON. HENRY WILSON, U. S. SENATE.

SENATE CHAMBER, Feb. 10, 1855.—Dear Sir,—My answer to your inquiries will be brief and explicit.

1st. I fully recognize the doctrine of State rights in its application to slavery, as well as to any other matter of public concern. It is a doctrine included in my creed, and I do not entertain the opinion that Congress has any power to interfere with slavery as it exists under State laws.
2d. The whole subject of slavery within State limits should be left absolutely to State legislation.
3d. My response to your second inquiry is included in my answer to your first. I do not entertain the opinion that Congress has any power to interfere with slavery as it exists under State laws.
4th. The American Organization in Massachusetts does not embrace the question of slavery amongst those for the regulation of which it was formed.

The people of Massachusetts have fixed opinions, in which most of the members of the organization fully concur, against the support or allowance of slavery by national legislation.
They entertain the most profound conviction that the harmony and repose of the country, and the highest interests of the master and the slave demand that the national government should be relieved from all annexation with responsibility for slavery, and that this disturbing question should be left to the States where it exists.

While they do not seek to impose these convictions and opinions upon their fellow-citizens of other States, or to persuade them to obey the law, they do desire to preach the Gospel in lighted Africa, and to the benighted heathen toward the redemption of his family. His wife and seven children are in slavery. The sum of \$1,200, in addition to means already raised, will accomplish the object. Send to John Morris Pease, Philadelphia.

Yours truly,
HENRY WILSON.
VERFASIAN ELLIS, Esq.

HELP NEEDED.

The Rev. Harby Mobley, a colored minister, who has been enabled to redeem himself from bondage, and desires to preach the Gospel in lighted Africa, asks the aid of the benevolent toward the redemption of his family. His wife and seven children are in slavery. The sum of \$1,200, in addition to means already raised, will accomplish the object. Send to John Morris Pease, Philadelphia.

Who can doubt, on reading such statements as the above, that we are a Christian people? Here is an accredited ambassador of Christ, commissioned by the Church, and by the King of Kings, to go into a distant land and preach the religion of Christ in "benighted Africa," who must first pay a heavy sum of money that the wife of his bosom, whom God forbids to be put under from him, may be permitted to accompany him; and that he may have his own children in the divine command to "train them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." Yet what chance for Christianity in the mission, and the people in this country, has no quarrel with the institution which gives out such very "peculiar" developments as this. A Christian missionary to buy his own wife and children before he can go forth on his great errand! Christ says, "go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature."—Slavery says you shall not have your wife and children to go with you, unless you raise \$1300 in addition to the means already raised. And the professed Church of Christ resolves that "slavery is no bar to Christian communion." It might be a nice question for casuists which needs the "Gospel," the most "benighted Africa," or the "cultivated supporters of the system which binds the African to the mission, and the solemn command of his Saviour. Suppose the Rev. Harby Mobley shall not be able to raise the \$1300 what then? Either he must leave his wife and children, although God says they "shall not be put asunder." Or he must display what he believes is Christ's command to him, to go to "benighted Africa," and preach the Gospel.—Free Trade Convention.

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

SALEM, OHIO, MARCH 10, 1854.

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, an Agent of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, will spend the months of March and April in Central and Southern Ohio. The friends of the Anti-Slavery cause in that general region will doubtless give him a cordial reception, and such aid as his object requires. With regard to the appointment of meetings for him, they will please correspond with Mrs. J. De Graw, Secretary of the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Circle, Cincinnati.

THE WISCONSIN JUDGES.

Though late, we put Judge Smith's opinion on record in our present number. It is clear and able, and indicates a regard for the special duties of a judge, the protection of personal liberty, highly commendatory in those days when the judiciary, state and national, has become the especial defender and patron of Slavery. With the whole community we rejoice at this, as an indication of popular progress. Though we cannot rejoice with those who look upon it as the ultimate of what is required. Judge Smith, though he has decided the fugitive law of 1850 unconstitutional, has yet left the real question undecided, if indeed he has not decided the wrong way. And the whole battle is to be fought over. The whole victory is to be yet achieved. The work will never be done, while it is competent to any power to return or surrender a fugitive slave. Our courts must yet declare such a crime, whether performed by individuals or by state or federal officers. The judges must declare that the constitution does not require this, or the people must repudiate the constitution. Till one or the other of these points is gained, the abolitionist has gained nothing. Nothing at least but a were doubtful advantage, which may or may not approximate him to an actual and ultimate success.

Judge Smith therefore has not settled the question for Wisconsin. He or some one else has yet to make another Summer decision, that *slaves cannot breathe Wisconsin air*. That the moment that their lungs inhale it, they die as slaves, and live as freemen.

The utmost extent of the opinion is expressed in the following sentence:

But believing as I do, that Congress had no power to pass the act of 1850; that the duties and obligations declared by the constitution in that respect, by Sec. 2 of Art. 4 of the constitution were imposed upon the States, and all power in relation thereto, reserved to the States and people, I am compelled to hold that the act is unconstitutional and void, and confers no authority upon the Federal Courts.

Judge Smith, evidently believes that Sec. 21 of Art. 4, refers to slaves. And that they must be surrendered. The extent of the protection he affords to liberty is to see that it is not surrendered unconstitutionally. That may sometimes afford protection, but it is not what the people require. Their interests demand that it shall never be surrendered constitutionally or otherwise.

We have in this Wisconsin case, a good illustration of the varied opinions on this question.

1st. We have Judge Miller's decision, that the law of 1850 is constitutional and just, and he imprisons Booth and Ryecraft for its violation.

2d. We have Chief Justice Crawford's opinion that the fugitive slave law is constitutional, but he is a defender of the rights of personal liberty so far as to see to it that all the niceties and quibbles of law are complied with. He finds a defect in this particular and lets the captives out at this deep hole in the net in which they were entangled. All can see that Judge Crawford is as pro-slavery in his constitutional and legal position as Judge Miller himself, though one imprisoned Booth and the other released him. So think a portion at least of the people of Wisconsin, and they are opposed to his reelection to his present office, for which we believe he expects soon to be a candidate. In this they are right, as thoroughly right, as they are also in another step they have taken, viz. asking Judge Miller by petition to resign. Judge Miller and Justice Crawford are rightly judged by the same judgement.

3d. Judge Smith goes a step further and will not only defend the right of personal freedom against Slave rendition, by the quibbles of law, but takes the broader ground that all congressional legislation for the rendition of slaves as unconstitutional. That that is a privilege reserved to the States. And as we understand him the States are bound to discharge that duty. There is no difference in principle between the three Judges. All recognize the legal existence of Slavery, all recognize the obligation of the people of Wisconsin to return the escaped slave to his master. And the time must come, before Slavery shall cease, when Judge Smith shall be visited with the same judgement by the people of Wisconsin which they are disposed to mete to Chief Justice Crawford and Judge Miller.

Judge Miller would have released Glover if his master had not proved him a slave. Judge Crawford would have been more strict in administering the law, and thus have given him a wider chance for escape. Judge Smith would have utterly repudiated the law under which he was tried and thus still more widely enlarged the opportunity for freedom, but all would have enslaved him, had the process been legal and constitutional.

No slave rendition. No Slavery, must yet be the decision of our judges—and no laws no constitution—no legislators, no judges which sanction its existence, must yet be the watchword of the people. God speed the time when this shall be.

SPIRITUAL MISSIONARIES.

During the last week we had a visit from Johnathan and Hannah Thomas. Old friends, conscientious, intelligent, and unpretending missionaries of spiritualism. With the faith and devotion of early christian apostles they went forth one year ago under spiritual direction to proclaim such words as should be furnished them to utter. Mrs. Thomas is the medium, who utters her impressions though not without some sort of magnetic aid from her husband, who sits by her during her addresses.

Mrs. Thomas had, previous to this mission, though we believe but rarely, spoken in public in advocacy of anti-slavery principles. On the first of April last, in obedience to impressions of duty, her husband rented their little farm in Vinton Co. for one year, sold off their stock and they started with their two children for Philadelphia, where they were instructed their mission was to commence. They arrived in the city without a solitary acquaintance, even among their spiritual brethren. They found sympathizing friends, without delay, and the next evening after their arrival Mrs. T. delivered her first address. She continued her labors speaking two or three times on the first day of the week and almost every evening of other days, for *ten days* consecutive. They afterwards visited Boston, New York, and various other cities in the East and have now concluded their service, by a seven weeks course of lectures in Cincinnati. Her public addresses have averaged five per week for the last eleven months. They are now on their way to resume their quiet and honest labors upon their farm, and assured us that their fidelity to their convictions of duty has been to them in no respect a disadvantage.

It is immaterial what our readers may think of the new phenomena, of their origin or utility. Such consecrated, trusting fidelity to honest convictions, is worthy of the widest imitation, and for this cause, we make the record of the facts. Let abolitionists imitate it in their devotion to the principles of liberty, and its cause will blossom with hope, and bring forth the fruit of speedy success.

Of the character of Mrs. Thomas's lectures for interest and ability we cannot speak, as we heard none of them. But we copy from the *Journal of Mr. De Bachman's* opinion:

Mrs. Thomas.—This lady has just concluded a course of lectures in this city, and is a remarkable character. Mrs. Thomas is a plain farmer's wife; living on a small place in Vinton county Ohio, whose opportunities of education have been very limited. She was impelled by spiritual influences to go forth and lecture for nearly a twelve month on Spiritual Philosophy; and this impulse she has obeyed, concluding her course in Cincinnati.

She had been lecturing several weeks in the city before I learned the superior character of her discourses, and was attracted to hear them. To my surprise and gratification I found that her lectures (in which she speaks merely as a medium,) were of a high philosophical character, such as would have done no discredit to Plato, Kant, Locke or the deepest philosophers of modern times. Indeed the greater part of her discourses was of so profound and finished a character, that if they had been written by Pythagoras, Solon, Socrates or Plato, and transmitted to modern times, in the literary dignity of the Greek language, they would have been admitted and revered as some of the noblest productions of ancient wisdom.

If these discourses were not the emanations of communicating spirits through Mrs. Thomas, they were merely the workings of her own mind—then is she indeed one of the most remarkable women of the age. If she can be induced to go forth again as a lecturer, she will richly repay the attention she may receive; not by brilliance or eloquence, but by an outpouring of pure thought, which cannot fail to enlighten and elevate those who listen.

THE STATES.

PENNSYLVANIA.—The Legislature of Pennsylvania has been unable to elect a Senator in the place of Mr. Cooper, and have adjourned the election till the first Tuesday in October next.

WISCONSIN.—Numerous meetings have been held in Wisconsin sustaining and approving the course of the Supreme Court of the State in the release of Booth and Ryecraft. From the reports they seem to have been marked with great enthusiasm and decided tone. An election is soon to be held to fill the place of Chief Justice Crawford, whose term of service is about to expire. At some of these meetings resolutions were adopted adverse to his reelection, on account of his opinion of the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave law. The people of East Troy sent to Judge Miller who condemned Booth an address asking for his resignation. It was signed by 329 voters and was presented in person by John F. Parker Esq. The Democrat says that nine tenths if not ninety-five hundredths of all the voters of the State and all the women would have signed the address, had it been presented to them.

MASSACHUSETTS.—The second hearing on behalf of the petitioners for the removal of Judge Loring was held on Wednesday afternoon of last week. Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker and Robert Morris gave their testimony in the case. J. W. Ketchell, a slaveholder from Abolition spoke in defense of Mr. Loring, and Lewis Hayden replied. Richard Hildreth and Amasa Walker also addressed the committee. A third hearing was appointed for Tuesday of the present week. Burns has been purchased from Slavery by contribution of the kidnappers in Broadcloth. B. F. Halliell, U. S. District Attorney and the U. S. Marshal, contributed each \$50.

NEW YORK.—After serious opposition by the bankers in the New York Senate, that body has finally passed a resolution authorizing the Governor to employ counsel to aid the Attorney general in defending the State in the Lemmon case.

The course of Anti-Slavery lectures in New York City has closed. Mr. Garrison's lecture of which we published a sketch was the last, though Mr. Sumner is announced to give a supplementary lecture hereafter. The course has been a paying one.

A decision has been made in the Supreme Court of New York which places colored persons on the terms of legal equality with the most favored of those of lighter complexion, in regard to the use of omnibuses, railroad cars and other public conveyances.

ANOTHER COLLEGE OPEN FOR THE RECEPTION OF WOMEN.—The Westminster College, located at Wilmington, Lawrence Co. Pa. has opened its doors for the reception of students, irrespective of sex. The College is under the direction of the Associate or Seeder Church.

Gerrit Smith has issued a long circular letter, addressed to Wendell Phillips of Boston. It gives Mr. S.'s views of the present state of the anti-slavery cause, and of the occasions of failure in the efforts of abolitionists. We shall publish a part of it next week.

GEN. HOUSTON'S LECTURE ON SLAVERY.

After much labor and difficulty, the gentlemen of Boston who have in charge the course of lectures in that city on the subject of slavery, have succeeded in securing one from a Southerner.—Senator Houston delivered a lecture there on the 23d inst., which we find reported at length in the Boston Telegraph. Several other Southerners were invited, but declined the service. One of them, Senator Butler of South Carolina, assigned as his reason for declining, that his audience would be one with "foreign conclusions on the subject." And certainly they have all done well for their own credit, and for their cause, unless they could give something superior to that presented by the Senator from Texas.

His lecture is a miserable hodge-podge of the stale and out-of-date defences of slavery. Its tone is moderate. It concedes, in some sort the wrong of slavery, and seems to expect that it will, some time, be removed. The lecturer makes a show of independence, and boasts repeatedly of his willingness to face a world of adverse sentiment. But this is evidently his "whistling to keep his courage up." The course of the whole lecture reveals his fear of the anti-slavery public sentiment which he conjectures exists in Boston and in his audience. The burden of the whole, oft times repeated, is that of the devil's, whom Jesus once met, "Let us alone. Hast thou come to torment us before the time?" Equally oft-repeated is his glorification of the Union.

He affirms that the slaves are well treated—they have Sabbath and religion—they have white ministers and black—are well fed and lightly worked—they have the lights of religion, civilization and morality—they are of all people most cheerful contented and happy. If this were not so, we should hear of suicides among them, and General Houston never heard of the commission of suicide by a slave. He must have had a very low opinion of the intelligence of his audience, or he would not have ventured upon such an assertion. No longer ago than last week, we copied from one New Orleans paper the account of two suicides by slaves.

He is a colonizationist, and like all "American" colonizationists, has horrible forebodings of the results of emancipation. Amalgamation and idleness—debauchery and ruin to the black will be the inevitable result.

We quote a few passages, that our readers may judge for themselves.
"The achievement of our liberties was made by slaveholders, and if they have since dispossessed themselves of slaves, now they exist only one portion of the community. There they are not objects of cruelty, they are not objects of harshness, they are not doomed to the darkness of heathenism; they have the lights of religion, civilization, and morality. It is the care of masters who desire the continuance and fellowship of the community, to see that on the Sabbath day the slave attends the worship of the Supreme Being. The Word is given to them by their own preachers or by white preachers, and they are instructed in religion.—They have been charged with employing their laborers, their slaves should be acquainted with the mysteries and the joys of revelation. They do not wish to shut these out from their spirits nor from their eyes."
The house of a man who would make his slaves labor on the Sabbath—I have known but two who have been charged with employing their laborers on the Sabbath day—would become like an infected place. No one consorts with such a master, or trusts office or distinction to them. These I know are statements that are not in conformity with the general and true state of feeling which exists in certain portions of the country, but they are nevertheless true, and I feel called upon by the respect shown to me to state the truth in return for that respect.

So far as the South has heretofore expressed itself—and I have cause to vindicate the South against the response they ought to be cast upon it for that which is not responsible—the South has said, "Let us alone, let us regulate our domestic institutions for ourselves. You gentlemen of the North, you legislators, you governors, you statesmen, you and regulate your domestic institutions for yourselves. Give us the same privileges and it is all we ask. Let us alone." How long has it that spirit of acquiescence existed? How perfect was it at the last session of Congress? Not a voice of discord was heard, not a jarring sound was heard throughout the broad land.

"We found slavery in our country. We use slaves but we do not abuse them. Our country or the other must give way. If slavery were to go away the spindles of the North would stop. I may be objected that I am appealing to the cupidity of the northern people. I am appealing to their common sense and experience, and they may give it what name they please, that object to it. Look it to the future. Has the slave advanced with all the advantages of emancipation, after passing through all the stages of apprenticeship? No, he has deteriorated. He is lower than when he was a slave. His labor is unproductive; he is not profitable to himself nor to any other. How would it be in the South. Turn them loose, and they would starve in business. Land could not be appropriated to them; and if they were they would not work it. They would be as they are in Bermuda, and everywhere else where they are thrown upon their own resources. They are listless, inert, lazy, living on the fruits of the earth where they have had, but never been industrious."
How could two races exist together without amalgamation? It is impossible. Well, they would produce nothing in the South; the spindles of the North would stand still; the implements of industry would remain here, unused, and the whole South would present a spectacle of wretchedness, if not of bloodshed and carnage. Who could derive happiness from this? It would not elevate the slave in the South. You might call him free, but he would be an object of want and wretchedness. Now if he is sick a doctor is provided, and he is attended to by the master, because he is his owner, and it is his interest to take care of him. But if free, no one would take care of him. His toil would stop, and his recompense, and he would be cast into the streets. That would be his situation. Whereas, it is the master's duty not only to improve his intelligence, but to improve his moral condition, that he may be more honest, trustworthy and faithful."

Ladies and Gentlemen: I have been led to the reflection, that in the adaptation of labor to climate and production, it would be impossible to furnish supplies to meet demand, if it were possible to wipe out slavery and transfer every one of the southern slaves to the soil of Africa. It would be impossible to supply one fourth or one sixth of the demand that has gradually grown up in the present condition of the country.

The white man's labor could never supply that of slave, whose constitution is adapted to southern labor, climate and production. It is not that the slave has to bear the burden and heat of the day. Our laborers rise with the sun, are allowed half an hour at breakfast, and two hours at noon, avoiding the heat at noon, and return at night to their supper and repose. They are not overworked; yet any white man undergoing the same process of activity and vigor that the slave endures, he would fall under the heat of the sun. There are physical causes why this is so, and they are known to physiologists.
The negroes originated in a southern climate, and they cannot live in a northern climate with the enjoyment of the same degree of health, activity and vigor that they enjoy at the South. There they are healthy, active and cheerful. The are of all people on earth the most happy. Have you ever heard of a slave committing suicide? If they were wretched and could not bear the chains, of the moderate slavery which they enjoy, they would have recourse to suicide to break the chains, and give their spirits freedom, but I never heard of a slave that committed suicide. (Applause.)

"The two sections cannot be separated. How would you separate them? Would Mason and Dixon's line be the line of separation? Would not fortresses and cannon be placed on either side of that line—an ideal or a true one—or if you please, a river—would not armies grow up to protect that boundary? Would not taxation and oppression be the consequence of it, and would not despotism follow armies and taxation? Are you prepared for that? Rational men cannot desire it. They desire union. The men of the South and the men of the North desire union and tranquility, both sections are interested in the Union, and neither can repudiate it and be happy and independent. (Applause). No. All we ask is to be let alone. We do not wish to obstruct our institutions, but we wish to have all the benefits of the constitution. We wish that to be the controlling principle of the country. We are willing to give the pound of flesh, but not one drop of Christian blood."

But this is enough to satisfy our readers of the character of the whole.
In the following paragraph is shadowed forth a moving reason for Southern Know-Nothingism.—"Foreign labor would depreciate the value of slaves." No doubt.
These are the things the North should look at. Your slaves, because unprofitable here, and they are thrown off. Labor and institutions, too, are governed by convenience and necessity to a great extent, without canvassing the morality or immorality of the institution. Now, whenever the South should employ foreign labor, if it were possible to do it, it would depreciate the value of slave labor, slaves would become worthless, and, if possible, it would get rid of them.

The following looks very much like an argument against Know-Nothingism. But we are not responsible for General Houston's consistency; and at any rate it could not be very flattering to his Know-Nothing auditors:
The immense improvements you have made I am delighted with. I congratulate the people of the North with all my heart upon the many beautiful, convenient, profitable and elegant improvements. Your States are like gardens, your fields and gardens and your houses are elegant. In the interior of this State I was gratified with beholding more than oriental splendor; you have founded an elegant and enlightened state of society. But do you believe that had it not been for the influx of foreign labor, you would have had these railroads? (Cheers and laughter.)
Would the Americans, sons of the revolution, ever have been able to do the digging, and all other work that has been done here? (Cheers). No. You never could have done it in the world. Well, it is well done, and I am glad to see it done.—(Laughter). But let us reason a little. Suppose these railroads had been taken place before the time when you emancipated your slaves, and no foreigners had come. Emancipation did not take place in the North until the adoption of the Federal Constitution—I think in about the year '30. Do you think that if railroads had been started then, construction would have been commenced? You would have had negroes at work building railroads to this day just as sure as the world. (Applause and laughter.)

It is necessary that produces slavery, it is convenience, it is profit that creates slavery; though often the owners are not as much benefited by it as is thought. It is true that labor must be performed, and when foreign labor had become reduced to a standard, at which it is cheaper than slaves, with the capital invested in them, you employed foreigners and turned off your slaves. Had there been such an influx of foreign immigration at the South, do you believe they would have constructed ships, and then they would have been there, to transport them, to Africa, rather than to have them among them.
Take it all in all, we must think the whole speech a very poor bid for the Presidency. It shows neither talent, independence nor boldness. It indicates the intellectual and moral character of the Senator as quite inferior to his physical. We should take them to be, judging from this specimen, about on a par with those of the present incumbent of the presidential chair.

Since preparing the above for the press, we find in the N. Y. Tribune a brief report of Mr. Garrison's speech in that city, which is mainly composed in comments of Senator Houston's speech. We give it below.
"Mr. Garrison, on presenting himself, was greeted with enthusiastic and repeated applause. He commenced with a reference to the ungodly righteousness of the cause he advocated. Solomon had said that there was nothing new under the sun; but he would not have said so, were he lately in Boston, because he would have seen there a well-known slaveholder, before a Massachusetts audience, pleading for slavery as a beneficent institution. It is supposed he spoke what he thought for there are no southern doughfaces; it is always southern backbone against northern gristle.—(Loud laughter and applause). Gen. Sam. Houston was the man, and his speech would have been transcendently wicked, if it were not superlatively foolish. But it is worthy of consideration, because it will be spread before the whole people, and because it again lifts the curtain which hides the abomination of slavery. Besides, it is likely to have much influence on the northern mind. Slavery constantly culminates in some particular man, and General Houston is to be used in the approaching election to blind the eyes of the North, and obtain another triumph for the South. Mr. Garrison, censured the conduct of the Anti-Slavery Committee of Boston in inviting Gen. Houston to speak on slavery. He did not think that, to show up the evils of robbery, a highwayman should be paid for addressing an audience thereon. They had invited many southern men to come on the same errand—only one had accepted the invitation, and he because he was quite deficient in understanding of the question, a genuine Know Nothing in that respect. (Laughter and applause). But the southern men cannot be expected to come and discuss the question. They dare not even discuss it on their own plantations. Besides, having an object too near our eyes hinders our seeing it aright, as well as its being at too great a distance; slaveholders themselves do not know the horrors of the system as well as those who view it at a distance. The South does not tolerate the institution. Contrast this with the reception of Gen. Houston in Boston. I am glad (said Mr. G.) that he was so extensively heard; but there was no place for an expression of the moral nature of an audience? Gen. Houston said he would not trench on the moral feeling of his audience—yet he pleaded for the continuance of the slave system. He said the system was a necessity—and that he spoke in honesty of heart. His testimony cannot be received, for his hands are stained with blood. 'Honesty, argal—put money in thy pocket!' He daily commits crimes which, in New York and Massachusetts, would send him to prison. He said he was proud of being an American; that was probably something for his Know Nothing brethren. (Laughter.) He might as well boast of the length of his nose or the number of his teeth. An American may be a very small pattern of a man; what should be boasted of, is being a man! On this Geographical liberty! Nationality is heathenism—universality is Christianity! (Loud applause.) I do not wish that any slave should show me my remains rest; but should any friend erect such a memorial, I wish the epitaph to be—'His country was the world, his countrymen were all mankind.'"

[Great applause.] General Houston argued that the men who won the revolution were one brotherhood, and all slaveholders. But what of Lafayette, who wrote he never would have drawn a sword to erect a slave country? What of the other foreigners? What of the colored regiments and martyrs, who shared the glories and dangers of the war? One brotherhood and all slaveholders! Gen. H. said the slaves could not exist if liberated; that is, the whites would exterminate them. Are we devils? But the statement is as false as the statement is diabolical; the two races can exist together in the northern States, Canada, and still better, in the West Indies. He argued that the horrors of amalgamation would follow emancipation; its horrors dwelt on by a southern man! Why, the slaveholders are the meanest of men; after robbing the African of liberty they rob them of their complexions also! (Loud laughter and applause). The General advocated colonization—of course he did: any one having an interest in it would. All that is base and vulgar in the land clusters around the Colonization Society. He said if there were a sufficient immigration of white labor, the South would have shipped all their slaves to Africa; he forgot what he said a little before—that white labor could not exist in the South. To advocate slavery in this day, and to do it, claiming to be a son of God—for the General was lately renewed and baptised all over—is something outrageous. The fugitive from the South would sooner meet a wolf than a Baptist, a bear than a Methodist, a rattlesnake than a Presbyterian; the only thing he fears to see is the face of a white man—of a Christian. (Loud applause). The General would not consider the abstract question—discretion was the better part of valor. Mr. Clay admitted the abstract wrong, did not hide his self behind the abstraction, far he added that the system was a curse to the master and a wrong to the slave. Mr. Garrison added similar testimony from Washington, Jefferson, Henry and other patriots. But there is nothing abstract about slavery. Is the gigantic General an abstraction? Are the whips and tortures of slavery abstractions? Gen. H. argued that the present generation found slavery in the country. True, and they also found fever and the small-pox; shall they guard and dig these? He also preached that neither he nor his ancestors created the system, and that is now a necessity; necessity is always the argument of the despot; and who now practice the horrors of slavery? The present slaveholders, and the crime is theirs; so is the penalty; for blood runs all over the South, and crimes and horrors are enacted there that are unknown elsewhere."

[Mr. Garrison displayed eleven yards of newspaper paragraphs of crimes at the South, cut out in a few months. They were fastened over his desk amid much laughter.]
"Gen. H. said the slaves are the happiest people in the world, and he is a converted Baptist! Then the whites must be the most unhappy in the world. He must have supposed he was addressing an audience of idiots; he could not have dared to speak so, but that he knew the conscience of the North was called. He asked whether any slave is known to have committed suicide; the South does not chronicle such deeds; no doubt they are numerous and there are written testimonies thereof. The slaves were said by the Lord to be well evangelized—the Sabbath was strictly guarded for them; but to what end? To make them believe that God will send to hell the disobedient slave! He asked very unfortunately to the Egyptian bondage. When Pharaoh was remonstrated with, he answered, 'I know not the Lord.' Pharaoh was a heathen [Loud laughter]. But the analogy holds; the negro race will be freed, and through a Red Sea—not of water, but of blood! (Applause). If the North would escape destruction, her only hope is separation. The Union upholds slavery; therefore the South should separate, and the General denounces it. He depicts the sad consequences, but what are consequences to him who takes the right? But the South would be powerless were the Union dissolved, she could not hurt the North. The gain of the North would be no more slave-enthusiasm; no more taxation for slavery, no more Fug. Slave, Dwyer and Cox, Casses and Douglasses; no more New York Hounds! (Loud and repeated applause). The issue is not one of documents, but of life and death. Disunion is the only remedy, all else is but beating the air. Our motto is—No union with slaveholders!"

"Hurrah! hurrah! right on go we. The fettered slave shall yet be free!"
[Tremendous applause.]

A NEW CALL UPON THE GOVERNMENT.—A Mr. Goode, of the Missouri House of Representatives, has introduced into that body a series of resolutions, relating to slavery. They speak approvingly of the constitution for its recognition of slavery, as well they may. They also call upon the Federal Government to place U. S. troops in Chicago, to secure the enactment of the fugitive slave act. The resolutions were referred to a Committee.

We are quite willing to see these resolutions adopted. It is a development of the real spirit of slavery, and the Government will act in harmony with itself, if it complies with the request. The sooner the people find out these facts the better. And find them out they never will, except by such demonstrations. Chicago is not the only place that will need troops, if the work is once commenced.

THE CUBAN ENTERPRISE.—The Cuban filibuster have issued their bonds from \$50 and upwards. They are signed by John A. Quitman, commander, George Betancourt, President of the Junta at New Orleans, John S. Thrasher, Secretary. A correspondent of one of the Boston papers says he visited the camp of the soldiers destined for the expedition, near New Orleans, and that they are a hard set of fellows, but will stand but a poor fight.

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCES.—President Pierce like his predecessor has taken the responsibility of dismissing Territorial Judges. Mr. Finney dismissed one by the name of Goodrich. He resisted the summary process, and appealed to the Supreme Court to enforce the payment of his salary. The court has decided against the President, thus sustaining the Presidential prerogative.

[Great applause.] General Houston argued that the men who won the revolution were one brotherhood, and all slaveholders. But what of Lafayette, who wrote he never would have drawn a sword to erect a slave country? What of the other foreigners? What of the colored regiments and martyrs, who shared the glories and dangers of the war? One brotherhood and all slaveholders! Gen. H. said the slaves could not exist if liberated; that is, the whites would exterminate them. Are we devils? But the statement is as false as the statement is diabolical; the two races can exist together in the northern States, Canada, and still better, in the West Indies. He argued that the horrors of amalgamation would follow emancipation; its horrors dwelt on by a southern man! Why, the slaveholders are the meanest of men; after robbing the African of liberty they rob them of their complexions also! (Loud laughter and applause). The General advocated colonization—of course he did: any one having an interest in it would. All that is base and vulgar in the land clusters around the Colonization Society. He said if there were a sufficient immigration of white labor, the South would have shipped all their slaves to Africa; he forgot what he said a little before—that white labor could not exist in the South. To advocate slavery in this day, and to do it, claiming to be a son of God—for the General was lately renewed and baptised all over—is something outrageous. The fugitive from the South would sooner meet a wolf than a Baptist, a bear than a Methodist, a rattlesnake than a Presbyterian; the only thing he fears to see is the face of a white man—of a Christian. (Loud applause). The General would not consider the abstract question—discretion was the better part of valor. Mr. Clay admitted the abstract wrong, did not hide his self behind the abstraction, far he added that the system was a curse to the master and a wrong to the slave. Mr. Garrison added similar testimony from Washington, Jefferson, Henry and other patriots. But there is nothing abstract about slavery. Is the gigantic General an abstraction? Are the whips and tortures of slavery abstractions? Gen. H. argued that the present generation found slavery in the country. True, and they also found fever and the small-pox; shall they guard and dig these? He also preached that neither he nor his ancestors created the system, and that is now a necessity; necessity is always the argument of the despot

THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

Miscellaneous.

THE FRIENDS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE EASTERN WAR.

The following is the address of British Friends, to which Kossuth replied in his exhortation in favor of war, which we published week before last:

A Christian Appeal from the Society of Friends to the People of Great Britain and Ireland.

We would respectfully bespeak the serious attention of our fellow-countrymen whilst we earnestly plead with them, on behalf of the claims of religion and humanity, in reference to the sanguinary conflict now raging in the East.

It is, we reverently trust, in the love of Christ, and it is in the spirit of true patriotism, that we make this appeal. Our country is dear to us; we honour our Sovereign, and prize our institutions; and we do not desire that our national policy may be swayed by the passions and prejudices of the moment.

We feel that it is a solemn thing thus to stand forth as the advocates of inviolable peace; and the events which are passing around us, and the warfare which meets us in every direction, have led us very seriously to revise the grounds of our Christian testimony in this matter. But this revision has only confirmed the conviction, which we dare not shrink from avowing, however unpopular at a crisis like the present, that all war, on whatever plea of policy or necessity, is unlawful under the Gospel Dispensation.

It will be admitted as a truth applicable alike to individuals and to nations, that it is only in the use of those means which are sanctioned by the law of Christ that we can expect the Divine blessing upon our efforts. When these means are exhausted, it becomes man, as a dependent being, to commit all results unto God—a trust which will never be confounded.

Can it then be that war, with all its attendant misery and crime, is a means of the employment of which is sanctioned by Christianity? We unhesitatingly make our appeal to those inspired records, which, as Christians, we all profess to accept as a revelation from Heaven. True it is that in the Testament we find not only war, but retaliation also, permitted, and, under certain circumstances, even commanded. As regards the command, we presume that no such commission to wage war against the Lord's enemies, as that given to his chosen people formerly, is pretended, or even expected now. And in regard to the permission, it is sufficient to say, that the provisions of the Old Covenant, as to the return of evil for evil, like those bearing upon the conjugal relation, are expressly contrasted by our Lord himself with his own precepts, for the purpose of showing that which, in both these cases, was allowed to them of old time, by reason of the hardness of their hearts, is prohibited by the higher and holier morality of the New Covenant.

To the Gospel standard, therefore, whether exhibited by prophecy, or more fully developed by Christ himself and his Apostles, must his professed disciples resort for their practical guidance. In the face then of all the glorious anticipations of prophecy in regard to the peaceful reign of the Messiah, and of the deep significance of that name by which He is called "The Prince of Peace"—in the face of the annunciation of the Heavenly Host which characterized the new dispensation, as that which was to bring peace on earth and good will to men, and of the express commands of our Redeemer himself, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you," who will venture to say that Christianity affords any authority or justification for war?

And not alone by precept, but by his example also, has our Lord and Saviour emphatically taught us the lesson of forgiveness, forbearance, and love. How touching is his prayer for his bitterest enemies! How wonderful the forgiveness of Him who said, "Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and He shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?" What power might he not have commanded, and that in any doubtful controversy, but in the vindication of himself? Rightly, yet how nobly, he exercised not merely with a view to the accomplishment of that most precious sacrifice which He made of himself for our sins; but also, as we learn from the testimony of the Apostle Peter, in reference to this subject, as a holy example for our imitation, an example of abstinence from all self-defensive violence, even in the face of causes. "For Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps; when he was reviled, he reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed himself to Him that judgeth righteously."

Now, although it may be admitted that the precepts and example of our Lord have a primary reference to the conduct of individuals, they can surely be no less binding upon a nation professing allegiance to Christ the supreme Ruler, than upon the individuals of whom it is composed. Let us never forget the authority of Him who has thus shown unto man what is good. Let us never forget that the Gospel is not a transitory but an abiding dispensation; that it is the dispensation under which we are now actually living; and that these blessed principles are among its most glorious and most essential characteristics. To affirm that they are impracticable, or not to be practised, is to set at naught their supreme authority, and to put dishonor upon their Divine Author. To postpone their application until all shall rest upon them, is, in effect, to deny their present authority, and to involve the practical question of supposing He has prescribed a series of duties for things in which the cessation for their exercise shall have ceased to exist. It is now in this still tossed and tempted world, that the Christian is called upon to act out these lessons. It is now that he is bound to prove his allegiance to his Divine Master, and so far as his influence may extend, to promote the spreading of His kingdom upon the earth. That kingdom is one of righteousness and peace; and all who adopt the petition, "Thy kingdom come," at once confess the duty of their present abstinence from war, and pray for its universal establishment.

With such precepts, and such an example, what have Christians to do with the moral or political standards of Greece or Rome; nations which, with all their intellectual refinement, knew not the Gospel of Christ. Yet many of the maxims of the military code, and the prevailing ideas of glory in connection with successful bloodshed, are principally drawn from these sources. And what are the effects of this heathen standard on the practice of the professed followers of the Lord Jesus? Without bringing our thoughts back to the miseries of past times, if we turn to the affecting details of the war in which our country is now engaged, and contemplate the vast amount of physical and moral suffering inflicted on the dying and wounded, and on innocent children, and on the Christians engaged in deadly conflict with their fellow-Christians of another nation, in the presence of the Infinite; and above all when we think of the thousands of immortal beings, believers and unbelievers, hurried into eternity, many of them, we must feel, as if we were looking on the righteous judgment of God, can we believe that these things, at which humanity should shudder, bring no dishonor on the religion of Jesus, or that they are not offensive in the sight of Him whose name is love, who hath made of one blood all nations of men, and on whom we are to learn the value of a single immortal soul? Can any prospects of temporal good, either to ourselves or others, compensate for such evils? If these things were felt as we think that they ought to be felt, not as a calamity only, but as a national sin, we believe that it would be the means of saving the way for their early termination.

To the members of the government of our beloved Sovereign, then, in the first place, would we address our earnest but respectful appeal, imploring them to use every Christian effort for the restoration of peace. We are not insensible to the difficulty of their position, in this momentous crisis, in having to deal with a powerful enemy, and at the same time to stem the mighty torrent of martial excitement in the public mind, or to satisfy its exasperated expectations with reference to the war itself, and its results to be obtained by it. Yet we believe that trust in God, combined with humble vigils of our national sin, and a temperate estimate of our own position, even when

convinced that we have clearly the right on our side, will be found at all times, and especially in the present peculiar and trying circumstances of the country, the best preparation for obtaining peace.

We implore our senators, now assembling in both houses of parliament for the avowed purpose of aiding the vigorous prosecution of the war, to remember that that which is morally or religiously wrong cannot be politically right; that the non-recognition of the peaceful doctrines and precepts of the Gospel by the nation, which is opposed to us—a nation too, intellectually and spiritually far less enlightened than our country, constitutes a valid plea for our violation of the war; that parliament may more truly serve the country by promoting temperate counsels, and wise and conciliatory negotiations, than by urging forward a war which has already been so fearfully destructive of British life and treasure, and which threatens in its progress to involve the whole of Europe in one widespread conflagration.

We appeal to all who possess power or influence—whether by their secular or their religious position, and especially to those who are looked up to as Ministers of the Gospel of Peace, to claim that authority and influence of which they are stewards, not in stirring up the martial spirit of the nation, or in serving the arm of war, but in promoting peace on earth and good will towards men, even towards their enemies.

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We pray the Almighty Father of the Universe to breathe the spirit of reconciliation into the hearts of his contending children, British, French, Turkish, and Russian, and guide them to the promotion of their mutual well-being in conforming themselves to His universal law of love.

Given forth by a meeting representing the Society of Friends in Great Britain, held in London, this 8th day of Twelfth Month, 1854, and signed in and on behalf thereof by

ROBERT FORSTER, Clerk.
From the Reading Post.
MY VISITOR.
BY THOMAS G. HARRISON.

Sweet spirit of light, thou art with me to-night;
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I feel thou art nearer, each thought makes thee dearer,
But thy beauty unnerves me with dread.

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We implore our senators, now assembling in both houses of parliament for the avowed purpose of aiding the vigorous prosecution of the war, to remember that that which is morally or religiously wrong cannot be politically right; that the non-recognition of the peaceful doctrines and precepts of the Gospel by the nation, which is opposed to us—a nation too, intellectually and spiritually far less enlightened than our country, constitutes a valid plea for our violation of the war; that parliament may more truly serve the country by promoting temperate counsels, and wise and conciliatory negotiations, than by urging forward a war which has already been so fearfully destructive of British life and treasure, and which threatens in its progress to involve the whole of Europe in one widespread conflagration.

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OHIO CULTIVATOR FOR 1855.

A REMEDY FOR "HARD TIMES."

The Eleventh Volume of the *Ohio Cultivator*, will commence Jan. 1st, 1855. The editors are resolved to spare no pains to maintain the reputation and usefulness of the paper; and with the benefit of ten years' experience, and much travel among the farmers of the West, they believe that they can make the *Cultivator* for the coming year of more value to its readers than ever before, and better adapted for the soil and climate, and productions of the region for which it is designed, than any other paper of the kind.

AS A REMEDY FOR "HARD TIMES."

The *Ohio Cultivator* will aim to impart knowledge of improved methods of cultivation, how to avoid losses by drought, insects, &c., the most profitable kinds of crops, best breeds of stock, condition and prospects of the markets, &c. In short, the paper will be devoted to the interests of the Farmer, the Shop, and the Fireman, and seek the elevation of Labor in all its legitimate interests; opposing quackery and humbug in all their forms, and filling the noble station of a true and useful farmer.

The *Ohio Cultivator* is published on the 1st and 15th of every month—16 large octavo pages, with title page and index at the end of the year, making a volume of 384 pages for binding.

Terms.—Single subscribers \$1 a year. Four copies for \$3. Nine copies for \$6; and the same price (95 cents each) for any larger number. All subscriptions to be paid in advance, and to commence with the year. Persons sending Clubs may have them directed to different offices if they choose; and those having sent a smaller number, may afterwards increase to nine, or more, at the Club rates. To any person sending us a Club of 100 subscribers and \$50, we will send, as a premium, a Package of Choice Seeds, containing various varieties, post paid, or a complete Volume for any previous year, in paper cover. Address

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